THE LABOUR MONTHLY

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

Editor: R. PALME DUTT

Volume 7 September, 1925 Number 9

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

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World of Labour

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TRADE UNION UNITY

A Magazine of International Trade Unionism

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TWOPENCE MONTHLY

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NOTES of the MONTH

The Struggle in Front—Trades Union Congress—War on the Unions—Trade Unions and Revolution—The Lesson of Power—1920 and 1925—Unity for Action—Idealism and Materialism—MacDonald and the Trade Unions—For or Against—Communism and Trade Unionism—The Question of Force—Trade Unions and the Labour Party—The Immediate Future—United Advance—The General Council.

IT is in the midst of critical conditions that the Trades Union Congress meets at Scarborough. The struggle in British industry is brought out in its sharpest form by the "settlement" of July 31. The tremendous and magnificent demonstration of working class solidarity has checked the capitalist offensive, but only for the moment. It has laid bare the opposing armies and the full class character of the struggle. But every issue of the fight is still in front. None of the workers' demands has yet been won ; the capitalist offensive is only postponed to find more favourable ground. If ever there was a "settlement" that settled nothing, it is the Truce of July 31. That subsidies are no solution is common ground. But there is no alternative which does not involve either an attack on wages and hours or an attack on the existing capitalist ownership. The Government has made clear that it regards the present strategic retreat as only a preparation for a decisive conflict in the future, and that it still stands by the objective of a general reduction of wages (which is an inevitable part of present capitalist policy). The Royal Commission is once again, as always, only the smoke-screen for the preparation for a decisive battle. There is no escape from the future conflict.

THE Trades Union Congress will have to pass in review the work of a General Council which, after all criticism is made, has undoubtedly done more than any previous executive of Trade Unionism to carry forward the whole movement. It will have to decide whether the work shall be approved, and

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whether it shall go forward, and, if it is to go forward, that the necessary powers shall be voted. Urgent questions, which were still only indirectly approached or left on one side at Hull, will now be clamouring for attention ; the question of the powers of the General Council, the question of International Trade Union Unity, the question of the Empire, and the question of the Labour Party and the next Labour Government. All these need a courageous approach, if Trade Unionism is to be prepared for the next twelve months. Most important of all, the Congress will have to face the present crisis, and determine how it shall be met, not only at the eleventh hour, but this time in advance, with readiness and determination. For this reason the most important immediate task is to analyse the outcome of the recent events, and determine their bearing on the future of Trade Unionism.

LIKE every clash of class forces, the working class declaration of solidarity of July 30 (although never put to the test or used for more than defensive purposes) and the consequent Government withdrawal have illuminated the whole situation. It is a foretaste of the impending conflict which is inevitably approaching in Britain. But it is only a foretaste, and the big conflict is in front probably under very much more difficult conditions. This is the first fact which every trade unionist must face. The clash has led to a certain amount of plain speaking on both sides, stripped of the usual cant, about the battle in front. The Prime Minister has said quite clearly that the State has temporarily retreated a step before the present Trade Union alliance, but that next time the State will be prepared to fight a decisive battle with the whole forces of Trade Unionism. What does this mean ? It means that the Prime Minister has quite openly declared war. The fight is no longer regarded even in profession as only with a minority of " extremists " or " revolutionary elements," but is openly declared to be with the organised Trade Unions, *i.e.*, with the whole organised working class. It is Class Struggle in the fullest sense, the open declaration of war of the exploiting minority, organised through their State machine, against the organised millions of the working population of the country. It is a declaration of war that every trade unionist will do well to note.

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HENCEFORWARD the Trade Unions, if they continue on their present path, are to be regarded by the State as revolutionary forces to be smashed. Why? In the recent past the Trade Unions were regarded as Pillars of the State, provided that they kept within their "legitimate" function of disciplining the workers and negotiating wages. What, then, has changed? Have the Trade Unions abandoned their "legitimate" function of the protection of wages? Not at all. But, just because in the present period of declining Capitalism, the capitalist class is no longer prepared or able to grant concessions, but feels itself compelled to drive down wages in order to survive; just because wage issues can in consequence no longer be carried on upon the old basis of bargaining within an accepted and relatively stable commercial framework, but are in fact inevitably revolutionary issues; so for that reason the Trade Unions, even when only endeavouring to perform their old function of protecting wages, inevitably become in fact, whether they wish it or not, revolutionary bodies. The capitalist class sees no way forward save to cut wages and smash the Unions' resistance. The Trade Unions on their side, faced with the economic decline of the industries with which they are concerned, see no way forward save to unite as a class force and wrest from the capitalists the Control of Industry. Thus the struggle of the Unions over wages is at the present stage the heart of the Class Struggle in Britain, and the heart of the battle for Socialism.

WHAT is the lesson of July 30? The most important lesson is undoubtedly the lesson of Power. This is so important that it overshadows every other issue of the crisis. Whatever the outcome of the negotiations, whatever the value or otherwise of the "settlement" of the following day, the fact remains. On the morning of that Thursday the Government declared that wages must come down, and refused any thought of a subsidy. In the afternoon the Trade Unions threatened common action. In the evening the Government offered a subsidy and the maintenance of wages, in order to win a truce. This fact is more eloquent than propaganda.

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IN 1920 occurred the last demonstration of working class power. The working class through the Council of Action stopped the war on Russia. But on that occasion every attempt was made to conceal what had happened and cover up the fatal breach in the constitution of bourgeois democracy. The whole press (which had been bawling war) declared that there had never been any thought of war, and that the whole thing was a mare's nest. This time there was no concealment. The experience of 1921, four years of unemployment and a successful capitalist offensive, and the exposure of the Labour Government, have all driven in class issues much deeper. The Conservative Government of a Baldwin and a Joynson-Hicks lacks the diplomatic cunning of a Lloyd George. They declared plainly that they had, temporarily and unwillingly, yielded a step to Trade Union unity. This fact remains, and sinks in. For the first time for four years the capitalist advance has been stayed, the Government turned—by measures plain to all. Hundreds of thousands, millions of workers, whom propaganda would never have reached or convinced, will observe this, will turn it over and over in their minds, will draw their conclusions, and will begin to look to the future with a new confidence and determination, with the dawning of a new idea, the idea of their own power.

IT is all the more important to drive home this lesson, because the Right Wing—the parliamentary democrats—are trying in every way to fog the issue. They speak of the triumph of "Unity," of "Opinion," of "Right and Justice." All these formulas are very fine. Unity is even a revolutionary formula. But there is one thing that they omit, and that one thing is the centre of the whole issue. They do not speak of Power. "Unity"? Yes; but with an addition—Unity *for the Class Struggle*. For the past six years and more the whole Labour movement has been "united" behind the miners' demand for nationalisation, "united" behind the miners' demand for a living wage. Has this kind of "unity" made a hairsbreadth of difference to the situation? The miners' wages have steadily gone down. But for one day the Labour movement was united *to act* behind the miners. Within a few hours the whole situation was changed, the Government had

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eaten its words, the capitalist advance was checked. Is not the meaning of this clear to every worker? In capitalist politics there is only one question at issue—the question of Power. There is only one weapon of the working class—the weapon of their own fighting strength.

"OPINION" (so the Parliamentary Labour Party resolution.) "Right and Justice" (MacDonald, Lansbury, &c.). These are very noble sounding things. But whoever applies them to the existing capitalist world is either a fool or a hypocrite. The facts of daily life from Shanghai to Shadwell speak the opposite. Capitalism is founded on the daily subjection of the workers. That subjection is based on the organised power of the capitalist class. It can only be broken by the organised power of the working class. Whoever endeavours to conceal this, and to bid the workers look to some classless ideal source for their salvation, is in practice assisting the capitalist subjection, which exists in hard fact and can only be broken in hard fact. The Parliamentary Labour Party with prudish delicacy, in its resolution congratulating the General Council, has referred to the latter's successful mobilising of "Trade Union opinion" behind the miners. "Opinion?" A glance at the actual decisive notice of July 30—"Wagons containing coal must not be attached to any train after midnight on Friday"—would show that it was something very much more solid and material than Trade Union "opinion" that was being mobilised.

THE conflict between MacDonald and the Trade Unions, which was partially revealed by the I.L.P. Summer School incident, is not accidental. The incident is worth analysing for the light that it throws on current controversies, and in particular on the central issue facing the working class, the issue of Power. MacDonald, who hates Bolshevism with a pathological hatred too violent to remember to be diplomatic, fell foul of the Government for giving way to the Trade Union threat of force, *i.e.*, for not defending bourgeois interests with sufficient vigour. The same charge was made by the Liberal, Lord Grey, and by the right wing Conservatives. So far the speech was only one of the commonplace speeches of MacDonald nowadays, which

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usually follow the lines of the more reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie. But MacDonald forgot that this time he was in fact attacking the whole organised Trade Union movement, on which he still depends for his political existence. For if it was a crime for the Government to give in to the Trade Union threat of force, it was equally a crime for the Trade Unions to apply the threat of force to the Government. MacDonald had said:—

> The Government has simply handed over the appearance, at any rate, of victory to the very forces that sane, well-considered, thoroughly well-examined Socialism feels to be probably its greatest enemy.
>
> *Manchester Guardian* report, August 4, 1925.

To whom had the Government actually handed over the "appearance of victory?" To the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. When MacDonald realised his blunder the next morning he hastily sent out an apologetic "explanation" to the effect that the speech had never been intended for a wider audience, and that he had never intended to refer to the General Council and the Trade Unions, but only to the hated "Communists."

BUT the issue is not to be so lightly dismissed. The fact that MacDonald, in desiring to get at the Communists, found that he had got at the whole Trade Union movement, is deeply symptomatic for the future. It means that a stage has been reached at which it is no longer possible to attack the revolutionary policy without in fact attacking the organised working class movement. For, embarrassing as is the honour that MacDonald would pay to the Communists as the sole winners of the working class victory against the Government, the fact remains that the struggle was between the Government and the Trade Unions, *i.e.*, the organised working class movement as a whole, of which the Communists are only a part. MacDonald's attempt to differentiate between the Communists and the Trade Unions only makes his position worse. Either he agrees with the action of the Trade Unions in using force against the Government, in which case his whole attack on Communism for its advocacy of working class force falls to the ground. Or he disagrees with the unanimous action of the Trade Unions; in which case the sooner he ceases to plague the movement, the better. MacDonald has subsequently stated that he

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is " heartily in agreement " with the action of the Trade Unions on July 30. But this endeavour to extricate himself only increases the confusion. For what was that action in fact save the " marshalling of force " by the working class ? How dare he then attack the Communists for supporting the " marshalling of force " by the working class ? His last position is worse than his first. His first was at any rate an honest anti-working class position, such as logically follows from his premises of bourgeois democracy. His last is simply an illogical attempt to square himself with his working class constituents—the Trade Unions. It is an attempt that is too easily seen through to be of much value to him. For the " hearty agreement " with the policy of united class action that he so easily proclaims after the particular crisis is over, was conspicuously invisible at the time when it would have been of use—before the crisis. The argument of MacDonald is worth noting. He says:—

> The Communists say they are all Socialists. That is all right, but that is not their distinctive characteristic. Their distinctive characteristic is that by the marshalling of force you could conquer the world, as undoubtedly you can, but the Socialist is not out to conquer the world. He is out to recreate the world, and conquering the world and recreating the world are two totally different conceptions.

IF this means anything (which is always doubtful in the case of MacDonald, who has been aptly diagnosed by the classic historian of international socialism, Sombart, as a past master of the English art of Cant) it means that the speaker is opposed to the " marshalling of force " by the working class in support of their claims. But this is precisely what the General Council and the Trade Unions stand for. What else are the Trade Unions but the " marshalling of force " by the working class in support of their claims ? What are all the schemes of the Workers' Alliance and the General Council but the " marshalling of force " on a greater scale to challenge more fundamental issues ? Contrast the language of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Agreement with the language of MacDonald:—

> There is but one power that can save mankind from being plunged into another universal catastrophe. There is but one power which can defend the workers of all countries against political and economic oppression and tyranny. There is but one power which can

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> bring freedom, welfare, happiness, and peace to the working class and to humanity. That power is the working class if well organised, properly disciplined, self-devoted, and determined to fight all who would oppose and prevent its complete emancipation.

"Power," "Class," "Fight." This is the language of the official representatives of eleven million trade unionists, including the whole British movement. MacDonald's quarrel is not, primarily with Communism, but with the organised working class movement.

MORE than that. If we turn from theory to practice, if we turn to the actual record of MacDonald in the Labour Government, we shall find that he is not in practice opposed to the "marshalling of force" for certain purposes, *e.g.*, the building of cruisers, sending gunboats to China, bombing in Irak, his letter threatening coercion to India, shooting Indians, and the Bengal Terror Ordinances. All these constitute a very ugly record behind the spiritual bombast, because they represent the use of force, in its most fiendish forms, not to "recreate the world," but to maintain the rule of the exploiters against unoffending populations. What then? It is not the marshalling of force that MacDonald opposes, but only when that force is marshalled *on behalf of the working class*. Here is the real difference between MacDonald and the working class movement, and it is a *class* difference. It is not a question of "Force" *versus* "No Force." It is a question of Capitalist Class Force *versus* Working Class Force. The Trade Unions stand for Working Class Force. MacDonald stands for Capitalist Class Force. That is the real division. When it is a question of maintaining the Empire by bombs and machine guns, MacDonald comes out with "the protection of British interests," "our Imperial heritage." But when the working class endeavours to organise more strongly and fight as a class force, it is then MacDonald comes out with his deprecatory "Ah, my friends," and "our spiritual aims." In other words MacDonald is, in reality, not an idealist at all, but a very commonplace imperialist against the working class, endeavouring to keep control of the workers by the old device of a shoddy spiritual religious language. The working class movement will need to shake itself clear of this confusion in order to realise its aims.

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WHY is the issue of MacDonald and the Trade Unions important? Because it throws a red light on the biggest questions in front of the working class movement. For MacDonald is still the Leader of the Labour Party. And the Labour Party is still supposed to hold within its sphere all "political" questions. Actual events, apart from all theories, are inevitably driving the whole movement to wider and wider struggles, to more and more fundamental issues, to the issue of Power. The central issue before the working class to-day is the issue of Power. The Trade Union movement, consciously and unconsciously, is slowly responding to the pressure of events. The Labour Party, tied to the machine of the parliamentary democrats who represent a class interest hostile to the working class, is confined to a narrow parliamentary outlook more and more separate from the struggle of the working class. Thus the whole movement is dangerously and fatally divided in its central leadership in the face of the greatest struggles in its history. There is no clear facing of the issue of Power. There is no clear facing of the future of the movement as a whole. All the minor antagonisms and cross-purposes between the Labour Party and the Trade Unions are only symptoms of this deeper political issue. It is a shallow analysis to speak of a division between the "industrial" and "political" wings. The best elements in both, all the sound working class elements, are equally conscious of the inevitable class struggle in front and desirous to play their parts in it on lines of a straightforward working class fight. But they have not yet faced central issues or come out into the open, they have still left the Trade Unions to advance only in a supposedly "industrial" sphere, and the Labour Party to rot in the parliamentary and imperialist treachery of its present leadership. They have still to raise the banner of a Class Policy alike in the Trade Unions and in the Labour Party, and to fight for it as a common force in both the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party Conference.

WHAT is the immediate position in front? There is clearly a struggle coming, which was only postponed by the "settlement" of July 31. The working class forces were able to unite for the defensive; they have not yet been ready to

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unite to win something. This is likely to cost dear: as the capitalist forces can now retrieve their error and prepare their attack at leisure, while the most favourable strategical moment for the workers (national and international unity, critical economic situation) has been allowed to pass without yielding any positive gain. It is all the more important to prepare a stronger unity for positive action next time. The capitalists have already made clear that they contemplate a future attack. They will use the Commission to divert attention on to debating points, while they make practical preparations. They will endeavour to separate the railwaymen from the miners, and to break the international front. The parliamentary Socialists will be in their element before the Commission, scoring prodigious verbal "Socialist victories." And when the time is ripe, the Commission, which will consist of "experts"—*i.e.*, be under Government control—will make its report according to the tactical situation. Supposing that that report, while recommending some form of unification, recommends at the same time longer hours for the miners? Where will the workers be then, if they have put their trust, as the Right Wing will suggest, in the Commission ("opinion," "right and justice"), and not in the strongest preparation of united action?

THE same united strength that was used to defend the miners' standards must be used to win the miners' demands. Our policy is nationalisation and a living wage for the miners. The whole movement is agreed on this. But this agreement needs to be translated into positive form. Propaganda for nationalisation and a living wage for the miners is meaningless unless it is at the same time propaganda for united working class action in support of these demands. It is necessary to see that this is at the present time the central issue of the capitalist offensive, and the test issue between the capitalist class and the working class. This much is certain. The present economic basis of the coal industry cannot continue. It can only be readjusted, either by driving down wages, or by attacking the existing capitalist ownership. That it shall not be the former is the agreed determination of the working class movement. But it is useless to endeavour only to maintain the offensive, without taking up the positive issue. To do

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so is only to invite renewed attack. The issue has in fact to be decided one way or another. The decision of this issue depends, not on argument, but on relative class strength.

FOR this reason the most important practical question before the Congress is the question of the power of the General Council. The realisation of Trade Unionism as a class force depends on the power of its central body. Without this any alliance can only have the instability of all alliances. It is essential that the existing scheme for a Workers' Alliance (which was only advocated as an emergency combination, pending the vesting of full powers in the General Council) should be subject to the General Council, and that it should not be allowed to stand in the way of immediate decision of the question of the powers of the General Council. Only a common class body, responsible to the whole movement, can represent a common class interest. The experience of 1921 and 1925 has shown that a sectional alliance can maintain itself only so far as each section feels it to its separate interest to maintain it; but that only when a common class leadership is able to bring the sections together and compel a recognition of common class interests, only so does united action become possible. The General Council has been able to accomplish a great deal last year by moral leadership. But it would be the height of folly to face the coming year without the registration of definite power in its hands. This duty falls on the Scarborough Congress. The situation develops at lightning speed. The Congress is the supreme authority for Trade Unionism to prepare itself and carry forward the work of revival that has been begun. May Scarborough advance beyond Hull as far as Hull advanced beyond Plymouth! All that has been done so far—Anglo-Russian Unity, the approach to a Workers' Alliance, the solidarity of July 30—is only a first beginning. It is only the first round: the big encounters are in front.

R. P. D.

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THE BURNING QUESTION OF INTERNATIONAL UNITY

By A. A. PURCELL, M.P.

INTERNATIONAL Trade Union Unity is a phrase that has been on the lips of many trade unionists, in the leading circles as well as among the rank and file, for the best part of a year. So far it has been no more than a phrase. International unity, as a *fact*, does not yet exist. Thus there is, first, the International Federation of Trade Unions, with an affiliated membership of 15,000,000, of which the British Trade Unions make about one-third. Secondly, there is the Red International of Labour Unions with an affiliated membership of 8,000,000, the great majority of which is the All-Russian Trade Union Movement. Thirdly, there are numerous trade union organisations not affiliated to either of these two Internationals—in America, Norway, Czecho-Slovakia and so on. Fourthly, in the Eastern countries there is either no trade union movement at all, or, where trade unions are struggling painfully into existence they plough their lonely and arduous furrow without any support from the powerful organisations of Western Europe and America. The new trade unionism of the East has so far remained outside the international fold. This, as regards trade union unity, is nothing less than a tragedy.

It is this last point which is the most important. The capitalists are following the line of least resistance and investing their capital in those countries where labour is cheap and profits correspondingly high. Where labour is cheap—that is to say, where trade unions do not exist. May be "there ain't no Ten Commandments" east of Suez: there certainly aren't any trade union conditions or trade union standards. For Labour the "gorgeous" East is a morass of squalor, sordid sweating and the most unchecked and vile exploitation imaginable.

Now the trade unionist can have only one attitude towards

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sweated labour. He must treat it as we treat the most dangerous of the contagious diseases—isolate it by means of a *cordon sanitaire*, and then stamp it out. Wherever capital goes to exploit unorganised labour representatives of organised labour should follow on its heels. Perhaps an illustration will make my meaning clear. Suppose for a moment that the "cotton belt" of Egypt, the Sudan, India, were to be magically transported some thousands of miles and dumped down somewhere near London. Our textile unions would hurry along to organise these workers, realising quite clearly that otherwise their hard-won standards would be destroyed. Their efforts would be spurred by the understanding that these standards were the fruit of many years of stiff fighting, in which the casualties had not been few nor the suffering slight. But to-day the capitalist can easily destroy our standards at long range, so to speak. Unorganised coolie labour abroad will force us, is now forcing us, to coolie labour at home. And we find ourselves unable to resist or check in any way this peculiarly insidious attack of the ruling classes on the achievements for which we, our fathers and our grandfathers, have striven so hardly and sacrificed so much.

So far I have referred throughout to sweated labour in the East, and for a reason. I think that the events in China and, to a lesser degree, the development of the textile dispute in India have brought home this terrible question, both to the workers of this country and to the workers in all European countries, as it has never been brought home before. And is it not clear that nothing will be gained by going cap in hand, *via* the International Labour Office, to beg capitalist Governments to enforce Factory Acts in their own Eastern colonies or "spheres of influence"? Is it not clear that, *under present circumstances*, the conditions of labour in the East cannot be improved? One way there is, and one only, by which improvements can be achieved. That is, by everywhere building up a strong trade union movement and by fighting for trade union conditions throughout the world.

By what means can we achieve this object? By the creation of a single fighting Trade Union International. This body should be international not only in word, but also in deed. It must be in the closest possible contact with the workers themselves, and it must give expression to their general interests. It must be able to carry

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out a militant policy for the emancipation of the working class in all countries, without distinction of colour, race, creed, political beliefs, or what you will.

But even from a purely European point of view conditions as they are can no longer be tolerated. The long hours of the German miners are a menace to the hours of the British miners. Wages in France are of direct concern to the workers of this country. Close relations between ourselves, the workers of Britain, and the workers of the Soviet Union are of the first importance. They are important not only as a question of general solidarity but to a very great extent as a question of our daily bread. Good relations with the U.S.S.R. promise to diminish our appalling unemployment—the greatest curse for the workers and the strongest weapon against us that the ruling classes possess. At present the International Trade Union Movement is unable to deal with all these burning questions. Once again we see the need for a single fighting Trade Union International.

While speaking about the conditions in Europe and elsewhere we must not forget the lessons of 1914-1918. The war came like a thief in the night. It butchered nearly 11,000,000 workers, and the burden in war debt alone which the workers have to bear reaches the enormous total of £60,000,000,000.

The repetition of such slaughter and such destruction would mean, under present circumstances, the ruin of mankind. What is our strongest weapon, practically our only weapon, to guard against such an eventuality? The fighting unity of the International Trade Union Movement.

Now I can hear some well-meaning and amiable comrades saying, "Yes—unity is a good thing: but how are we going to get it?" On the other hand, the diplomatic enemies of unity insinuate that the British Trade Union Movement has to choose between Amsterdam and the Russian Unions. That is a plain lie. However, I think it worth while to clear up one or two misconceptions that have got about, partly as a result of these untrue insinuations. Thus it has often been asked, "Why not unity with Germany as well as with Russia?" Unity with Germany by all means. But first things first. We stand for unity with the Russian Unions first, because the British and the Russian Trade Union

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Movements are the only two trade union movements of the first magnitude which enjoy full national unity. I mean by this that there are no cleavages in either of these two movements for religious, political or other reasons. Neither in Britain nor in Russia are there Christian (Catholic) Unions as there are in practically every other European country. Neither have we anything to compare with the Liberal " Hirsch-Duncker " Unions of Germany. This whole point is an important one, and too frequently overlooked.

The truth is that millions of workers affiliated to Amsterdam share our passionate desire for trade union unity. Evidence enough and to spare of this has been provided by the columns of resolutions printed every month in the journal *Trade Union Unity*, with which it is my privilege to be associated. There is simply a small bunch of Amsterdam leaders who are interested in making the International Federation of Trade Unions a mere appendix to the Second, or as it is now called, the Labour and Socialist International. In its turn, the Second International is, in some of its parts, an appendix to various continental capitalist governments. I need only instance the notorious connection between the Socialist Parties of Bulgaria, Esthonia, Poland and Hungary and their respective White Terrorist Governments. The record of the German Social-Democratic Party is well-known. So far as the subordination of the German Trade Union leaders to the Social-Democratic politicians is concerned, I can speak with authority from my experience in the chair at international meetings. The French Socialists have supported a Liberal Government to the point of sacrificing all the Socialist principles they ever had. Even now the Belgian Labour Party is forming part of a Coalition Government with Conservatives and Liberals.

It is the Second International which tolerates in its midst an Abramowitch, who represents nobody but himself, as representative of the Russian workers. It is the Secretary of the Second International, Friedrich Adler, who has perpetrated the most unscrupulous and contemptible attack yet made on the Report of the British Delegation to Russia—an attack which has received the " honour " of appreciative quotation in the *Morning Post*.

These, then, are the opponents of unity. These are the fellows

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who talk nonsense about "insuperable difficulties." If we leave them aside we shall have no difficulty in seeing that the ground for unity is clear and that the way to get unity is simple. The ground for unity is the general interest of the workers in the amelioration of their conditions and consequently in the overthrow of capitalism. The general aim is the emancipation of the working class, which means, practically, the emancipation of mankind. We may sum up our immediate tasks as follows :—

(i) The organisation of the workers of the East.
(ii) A common *defensive* fight against the conspiracy of capitalism to worsen the conditions of the workers.
(iii) A common *offensive* fight for the improvement of the conditions of the workers everywhere.
(iv) A systematic campaign against the conspiracy of British and American financial capital which has found its clearest expression in the Dawes Report

These aims, I think, are simple enough. Now for the way to achieve unity, which is equally simple. What is required is a general world congress of all Trade Union organisations, with a full and adequate representation of the rank and file. Such a Congress would lay the foundations of a single fighting Trade Union International—the urgent need for which I have been hammering at right through this article.

We cannot expect a world congress to be convened to-morrow. One important step, however, on the road to international unity can be taken at once. That is the affiliation of the Russian Trade Unions to the International Federation of Trade Unions. This should and can be achieved, without more ado, by a preliminary unconditional conference of both sides. Those who are sabotaging this step are enemies of unity.

I am sure that every sincere trade unionist will agree that the most heartening and most important event in recent trade union history has been the coming together of the British and the Russian Unions. This coming together, as we all know, is at the root of the present campaign for international unity. But it is of the first importance not only from the trade union unity point of view. Are not our ruling classes openly plotting for war against the Workers' Republic? They consider, quite rightly, that its overthrow is the common cause of capitalism. By the same token its

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defence is the common cause of the workers of Britain and of the whole world. It is a matter of life and death for us to maintain the closest possible contact with the workers of the Soviet Union. Behind all the diplomatic hocus-pocus of the Security Pact, &c., lurks the menace of war against Russia. This point is worked out in detail by W. N. Ewer in his article on another page, so I need say no more about it here.

Against this conspiracy of war and slaughter a strong, united Trade Union International would be a real weapon—the only weapon. No one can escape that fact, turn and twist how they will. Pending the achievement of international unity we have a temporary substitute for it in the joint committee which has been set up by our General Council in conjunction with the All-Russian Council. But a substitute, after all, is a substitute. Face to face as we are in this country to-day with an industrial crisis graver than ever before, we need the genuine article. The capitalist offensive waits for no man. At all costs, if we are to save ourselves, the fighting unity of the International Trade Union movement must be achieved.

The above article by MR. A. A. PURCELL *is now being reprinted, with a special preface, as a Penny Pamphlet. Please send in your orders early.*

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THE CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE AND THE MINING CRISIS

By R. PAGE ARNOT

THE recent mining crisis is only an acute moment of a general crisis. That crisis is not limited to one industry, to one country or to a few days, a few weeks or even a few months: it is general, it is world-wide and it represents a whole epoch of post-war capitalism. That epoch may be long drawn out or it may be passed through with great rapidity. But that it is a definite epoch with clearly marked characteristics will appear from reasons given below. It is the epoch of attempted stabilisation of post-war capitalism. This attempt to stabilise is to be regarded as a new economic world situation.

How has this stage been reached? Since the end of the war capitalism has been unstable. That instability is shown, first, by the boom of 1919–1920, and then by the slump which continues in Britain long after other countries have shown a partial recovery. A very few months of the slump were sufficient to sweep away the airy prospects of 1919 and to concentrate all the energies of the bourgeoisie on attaining stability. This desire was expressed by the politicians in their speeches and reflected in the trend of political events. In 1921 President Harding's Inaugural Address expressed the desire of the American bourgeoisie for a return to what he called "Normalcy." Premier Bonar Law in 1922 declared on his part for "Tranquillity." With the ending of the Ruhr adventure and the initiation of the Dawes Committee the progress towards stability was to go on unhindered.

The Decline of British Capitalism

Let us now turn to see the particular case of Britain and the British Empire: and this for three reasons. First, because in so short an article as this is to be I must limit myself to one aspect of the complex of world imperialism. Second, because British Imperialism is the one which most nearly concerns us. Third, because

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actually Britain is the heart of the world problem confronting world capitalism. Month after month, year after year, as no sign of complete recovery appeared, the British bourgeoisie began to stop whistling for a wind and to set itself to a serious consideration of the perils with which it was encompassed. Two examples of the results of this serious consideration have been published within the last few weeks. The Committee on Industry and Trade (the Balfour Committee), appointed July, 1924, has just published a Survey of Overseas markets; while on July 28 the Federation of British Industries published in the *Yorkshire Post* a memorandum on the position of British trade. It is significant that many of the conclusions thus published in the summer of 1925 had been reached and published three and four years before by Trotsky and Varga in their Reports to the Congresses of the Communist International.

The Balfour Committee, which was concerned primarily with export trade, considers that the falling off in British exports is due to three main groups of causes, (i) Declining of purchasing power of the local population; (ii) Growth of local manufacture; (iii) Displacement of British imports by imports from other sources. They remark that the exports of British cotton piece goods to India declined by 57 per cent. between 1913 and 1923. A quarter of this decline, they estimate, is due to the growth of local manufacture.

> The number of cotton spindles in Japan, China, India and Brazil in 1913 was about ten millions; by 1924 the number had reached nearly eighteen millions. Between 1913 and 1922 the number of cotton power looms in India and Japan rose from 120 to 200 millions. The annual production of steel just before the war in Japan, China, India and Australia was 360,000 tons; in 1922 it was 858,000 tons.

These are hard facts which official capitalist optimism cannot get past. We may leave it at that; and turn to cull an example of a different kind that illustrates equally well the decline of British capitalism.

British Foreign Issues (in millions £ sterling)*

1913	1919	1920	1921	1922
197·5	49·9 (19·3)†	59·6 (17·3)	115·7 (58·6)	135·2 (85·1)

1923	1924	1925 (½ year)
136·2 (85·9)	134·2 (80·7)	39·2

* Excluding British Government Loans.

† Bracketed figures are converted to 1913 values.

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Now contrast with this the figures of American investment overseas:—

U.S.A. Foreign Issues, 1920-1925[1]
New capital (in millions of dollars)

	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925 ½-year
Canadian (municipal) ..	45.8	75.9	98.9	26.3	134.8	38.6
Other foreign Governments	191.0	329.2	416.3	186.8	570.9	184.6
Total	236.8	405.1	515.2	213.1	705.8	223.2
Canadian private	107.8	106.1	40.4	29.6	97.8	69.8
Other foreign private ..	39.9	15.1	80.4	24.1	196.6	150.1
Grand total ..	384.5	526.3	636.0	266.8	1000.2	443.1

It is enough for the purposes of this article to quote these two salient examples, the one in the decline of export of goods partly caused by the industrialisation of countries new to capitalism; the other the contrast between the British fall in overseas investments and the enormous American expansion, as symptoms of the decline of British capitalism.

The Remedies of the British Bourgeosie

What are the remedies for this mortal sickness of capitalism? The British bourgeoisie have sought for one remedy in Empire Development. They are cheered and encouraged on this path by the fact that in ten years there has been a slight alteration in the destination of British exports and imports. There is now more trade with the Empire. The difference, however, does not amount to more than 2 per cent. in all, but in any case it is not so much with trade that they are concerned. Empire Development primarily

[1] In this table I have set down more details than is required for the purpose of the argument. But readers of the Labour Monthly may find it useful to note how the curve has fluctuated: and to draw lessons therefrom. Thus it will be seen that in 1923 the internal boom in U.S.A. was able to absorb the surplus capital, which accordingly drops down in our table. But with the saturation of the home market, the growth of the gold hoard, and the application of Dawes Plan to make Europe safe for democracy to invest in, the figures leap right up. Further, in the early years Canada, swinging into the U.S.A. sphere of influence, is considered thoroughly safe for private investment. In the case of other countries "safety first" concentrated overseas investment in Government loans. But with the Dawes Plan loans Europe falls into strong hands, it becomes quite safe to take shares in private business, and for the first six months of 1925 private investment is at an annual rate of 440 millions, and therefore nearly 50 per cent. of total investments overseas.

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means cheap coloured labour. Empire development is typified by the jute mills on the Ganges with coolie labour yielding dividends of hundreds per cent., thereby enabling the Dundee jute employers (in many cases owners also of the Ganges mills) to force down the wages of their workers at home. Along with Empire Development goes the development of such countries as China, where again cheap labour is their objective.

On the financial side their remedy has been to work steadily towards their pre-war financial supremacy—"to enable the pound to look the dollar in the face." The Debt tribute to America was a step to this end, the Dawes Plan was another step, the re-establishment of the Gold Standard was its consummation. Round the Gold Standard rally the financiers of the City, their puppet ministers, and even the lately doubting Federation of British Industries. But for the workers the Gold Standard has a sinister meaning.

In remedies such as these the British bourgeoisie see their hope of stabilisation, but even in these remedies they meet with many contradictions and difficulties.

The restoration of the Gold Standard has meant a temporary embargo on investments overseas, thus frustrating for the time being the very object of the restoration. The Dawes Plan for stabilisation, if it is to be effective, means increased German competition. And so on and so forth. Nevertheless the British bourgeoisie does not despair of cutting through all its difficulties. It sees through a vista of reduction of wages the house of stabilisation to which it shall enter in. It has a sword that will cut the Gordian knot of its difficulties. That sword is the employers' offensive to reduce wages.

The crux of the situation for the British bourgeoisie, and for the world bourgeoisie in greater or less degree, is a successful employers' offensive. *There can be no post-war stability of capital without this offensive.* Just as primitive accumulation was necessary for the development of capitalism, so the employers' offensive is necessary for post-war stability of capitalism. "The capitalist system" said Marx, "pre-supposes a complete separation of the labourers from all property in the means by which they can realise their labour. . . . The so-called primitive accumulation, however, is nothing else than the historical process of divorcing the producer

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from the means of production." In a similar way post-war stability of capitalism pre-supposes the complete subjugation of the working class under the hammer blows of an employers' offensive. This is the cardinal feature of the new economic world situation. Unless this is understood, nothing is understood, and the way is paved to shameful submissions, and defeat after defeat.

Here is where the Social Democrat and "more production" boosters mislead the workers. In Germany the cry was "Let us have stable capitalism first," "Let us set Humpty-Dumpty up again and *then* we can develop towards socialism." In this country equally, though not with such tragically obvious conclusions as in Germany, the workers have been misled. "Stabilise capitalism and evolve towards socialism" has been the parrot cry. Hence we have the Labour Government continuing the process towards stabilisation (support of the Dawes Plan) whereas they were leading the workers direct into a fools' paradise. It is a dawning realisation of this that has caused the distrust of the Trade Unions, as manifested in the recent crisis, towards any and all of the Parliamentary leaders.

Finally, as a pendant to this statement of the inevitable linking of post-war stability with the lowering of wages, let us cite the recent pamphlet by Mr. J. M. Keynes. Mr. J. M. Keynes, the *enfant terrible* of bourgeois economics, has upset all his compeers by his pamphlet on *The Economic Consequences of Mr. Churchill*, in which he argues that the Gold Standard, restored at the time it was, has meant an artificial appreciation of our currency of 10 per cent., and that this has reacted unfavourably on British export trade, which must be put right by a 10 per cent. cut in money-wages. Now it need not be discussed whether he is right or wrong. The point is that Mr. Keynes is not merely an economist, but also a dramatist. He dramatises Finance Capital. He makes it speak to the Lords of the Treasury; and in this imaginative speech he expresses the soul of the bourgeosie as follows:—

> If you think that the advantages of the Gold Standard are so significant and so urgent that you are prepared to risk great unpopularity and to take stern administrative action in order to secure them, the course of events will probably be as follows:—
>
> To begin with, there will be great depression in the export industries. This, in itself, will be helpful, since it will produce an

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atmosphere favourable to the reduction of wages. The cost of living will fall somewhat. This will be helpful too, because it will give you a good argument in favour of reducing wages. Nevertheless, the cost of living will not fall sufficiently and, consequently, the export industries will not be able to reduce their prices sufficiently until wages have fallen in the sheltered industries. Now, wages will not fall in the sheltered industries merely because there is unemployment in the unsheltered industries. Therefore you will have to see to it that there is unemployment in the sheltered industries also. The way to do this will be by credit restriction. By means of the restriction of credit by the Bank of England you can deliberately intensify unemployment to any required degree, until wages *do* fall. When the process is complete the cost of living will have fallen too; and we shall then be, with luck, just where we were before we started.

We ought to warn you, though perhaps this is going a little outside our proper sphere, that it will not be safe politically to admit that you are intensifying unemployment deliberately in order to reduce wages. Thus you will have to ascribe what is happening to every conceivable cause except the true one. We estimate that about two years may elapse before it will be safe for you to utter in public one single word of truth. By that time you will either be out of office, or the adjustment, somehow or other, will have been carried through.

The Workers' Policy

This then is the new situation with which we are faced. To meet it needs nothing less than a new alignment and a whole new re-organisation of the forces of trade unionism.

Let us consider it from the point of view of the class struggle. First let us take the meaning of the mining crisis and its likely sequel for the next nine months, and secondly the measures to be taken by the workers. What happened in these last days of July? A strike was threatened. It was met by the combined resistance of the Trade Union movement. The attack was repulsed. But there is every indication in the speech of the Premier in the House of Commons, in the speeches of Cabinet Ministers, in the statements of big-business men and in the chorus of the Press that the bourgeoisie regard the nine months' subsidy as a breathing space in which to collect their forces for a renewal of the offensive. And this time there are to be no mistakes. After the concession of the Sankey Commission in February, 1919, up to time of the railway strike in September, 1919, the intervening months were filled with feverish preparations, ranging from the Strike-Breaking Circular issued to the troops to the systematic enrolment of White

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Guards from the ranks of professional and middle-class associations of all kinds. Nothing was said about it at the time and the facts only slowly leaked out. This time they are blatantly announcing beforehand their intentions; enrolment of Black and Tan Corps, of Citizen Guards and all the apparatus of Fascism are being called for, not only by the *Daily Mail*, but by " sober " journals like the *Observer*. The end of April, 1926, is the time fixed for the declaration of war. But if their preparations are complete enough, that date may easily be forestalled. From the side of Labour there is not a moment to be lost. Not next spring, but before the winter is ended, the employers' artillery may begin.

The actual proposals we know. A Commission of Inquiry is set up, and it is to be expected from the Prime Minister's interview with Messrs. Herbert Smith, Cook and Richardson, that it will be a packed Commission. This article is written before the names are announced, but there will be no difficulty in finding names famous in philanthropy to lend themselves for the job. The Commission will be expected to go against the Seven Hours Day, and it is to spare time to justify an attack on the wages of the transport workers and other sheltered trades.

But supposing the personnel of the Commission is not so bad as we are led to expect; suppose its deliberations assume an appearance of impartiality, it will none the less serve the purposes of the bourgeoisie by creating an illusory belief in " the power of reason " and diverting the workers from their most urgent need of preparedness. You cannot " reason " butter out of a dog's mouth. But many will be led to believe that it is possible.

It is then not a matter of nine months but possibly a matter of nine or ten weeks. What are the workers to do ? Clearly every support is to be given to the building up of the Industrial Alliance which represents a great concentration of Trade Union power. But more important still is the strengthening of the General Council. The Council did its best work since it was set up during these last few days of July. It remains to add to the powers which it then showed itself to possess and make those powers binding on every Union. Without this centralisation of power there will always come a moment when the bourgeoisie will seize a weak portion of the line and hurl all their forces against it.

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Lastly there is the consolidation of the organised working class. By the building up in every locality, in every workshop, of the workers' own organisation, by the strengthening of the Trades Councils, by every means that can really and truly *mobilise the workers*. But all of this machinery, though necessary and urgent, will not function unless behind it there is the will to power.

These then are the concrete measures. Can we sum them up in a few words ? If so, let our words be words that have a meaning. We must not simply say " Unity, National and International." International Unity indeed is sorely needed, but Nationally we have unity. Other countries are split up into two, three, four and even more separate trade union movements: in this country we have but one. But the Unity we have is not enough. We want the concentration of Trade Union Power that we get in the Industrial Alliance ; the consolidation of the working class that we get in workshop and local organisation; and the centralisation that comes from handing over directive power to the General Council. Therefore our slogan must be: " Unite internationally," and at home: " Concentrate, Consolidate, Centralise."

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HATCHING A WAR WITH RUSSIA

By W. N. EWER

THE " July days " of Anglo-Soviet crisis are over. There is even a theory abroad that there never was a crisis at all : that it was all begotten of nervousness and quick suspicion : that there never was any idea in the Cabinet or the Foreign Office of breaking off relations, or even of sending a " stern " note, on the Curzonian model, to Moscow.

Now in that theory, which of course has the official blessing, there is this amount of truth—that the July crisis was not in fact premeditated by the Foreign Office, nor did it ever develop to a really dangerous stage. It was premature and, therefore, abortive. The hot-heads of the Government forced it into existence, to the considerable annoyance of the cool-headed diplomats who are playing a longer and more cautious game. The recklessness of Lord Birkenhead and the stupidity of Sir William Joynson-Hicks inflamed Tory passions. The whole pack went baying and snarling on the trail. And the huntsmen had much ado to bring them to heel before they had (let the metaphors remain mixed) completely spoiled the game.

Their outbreak has been valuable. For it has served to give the whole Labour movement a sharp warning that there is danger ahead, and that at any moment the real crisis may be upon us.

Even those who doubted before can now see plainly that Anglo-Soviet relations are suffering from an acute intermittent fever, in which crisis will inevitably follow crisis, and in which any crisis may prove fatal. The tiding over of one, of two, of three, may be necessary. But it cannot be sufficient. The danger will be there so long as the abnormal and unhealthy condition remains.

Anglo-Soviet relations remind one ominously of Anglo-German relations in the years between 1904 and 1914. Then as now crisis followed on crisis (Casablanca, Bosnia, Agadir). Then, as now, in the intervals there was a continual and ubiquitous diplomatic conflict. Then, as now, there was snarling and suspicion and

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a constant Press propaganda of hatred. Then, as now, the soldiers and sailors quietly got ready for the war which the diplomats were preparing.

But Anglo-German relations in those years of preparation were never so bad as Anglo-Russian relations now. Then at least the outward decencies were preserved; diplomatic relations were normal and courteous; there were even attempts, though abortive attempts, to reach an understanding on some of the points of conflict.

But to-day Ministers make no effort to conceal their bitter hatred of the Soviet Republic. The firebrands hurl insults from the platform which are without parallel in the history of international relations. The Foreign Secretary himself rarely mentions Russia—if it is only in answering a Parliamentary question—without a sneer or a taunt. His tone, as Mr. Ponsonby says, "has been always one of studied disdainful indifference and hardly concealed unfriendliness." His whole demeanour is one of deliberate provocation.

There are difficult questions to be solved between the two countries. There is—for geographical reasons which caused trouble long before the Revolution—always risk of a clash of interest or of objective between the two great Asiatic powers. But the existence of these difficulties and of these risks is exactly the reason why diplomacy should be exerting every effort to smooth over the one and to avert the other. Precisely for this reason there should be close and cordial co-operation in seeking for ways and means of agreement, of understanding, where necessary of compromise.

The really dangerous thing is that British diplomacy is deliberately banging, barring and bolting the door on every possibility of an understanding. It is loud in complaints and accusations. But it refuses to negotiate or even to discuss its grievances. It is impossible to resist the deduction that it is deliberately keeping those grievances in being as a pretext for making trouble when the chosen moment comes.

Let one example, and the most serious, suffice—the question of propaganda. The accusations are as continual as they are vague. Ministers allege that they have ample evidence of Soviet propaganda—in breach of the Trade Agreement undertakings—in

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Great Britain, in India, in China, all over the world. Mr. Chamberlain has even officially declared in the House of Commons that the Soviet Government is not keeping its pledges.

Now I suspect that in fact they have no such evidence at all—of a kind that they would dare submit to an arbitrator. They have no doubt a plentiful supply of documents which they know perfectly well to be forged. They have, perhaps, some which they optimistically think may be genuine. They may pretend that for Karakhan to sympathise with the victims of the rifles of the Shanghai police is anti-British propaganda, or that for Russia to sell aeroplanes to an independent State like Afghanistan is an infringement of British Imperial interests (while, of course, if Russians object to Britain selling arms to the Baltic States that is equally an indication of bad faith and sinister intention). But, if this is all they have it is a monstrous thing that on such flimsy grounds they should publicly accuse a supposedly friendly government of violating its treaty undertakings.

But suppose that this is not all. Suppose that they have, or honestly believe that they have, genuine evidence of the complicity of the Soviet Government in anti-British propaganda within the meaning of the provisions of the Trade Agreement. What then ?

If the Government of this country believes that it, or its nationals, have ground for complaint against the Government of any other State than the Soviet Union, the diplomats at once get busy. They make friendly representations. They discuss the matter with the ambassador or minister of the other State. They make every effort to remove any misunderstanding. They jointly investigate the complaints and search for a solution of the difficulties.

The seizure of British ships by American prohibition-cruisers is an instance that comes at once to mind. There was no flinging about of hot words, no bandying of insults, no waving of the flag, no talk of ultimatums. The matter was quietly settled by amicable discussion—because there was the will to settle.

But there is no will to settle with Russia. The Government does not want to stop propaganda : it wants to use the accusation of propaganda as a political weapon.

Therefore, while it makes loud public complaint, it does not lift a little finger to get its grievances remedied.

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The promise was made, after the 1923 crisis, that, if there was any further ground for complaint, it should be brought in friendly conversation to the notice of the Soviet representative, with a view to an amicable arrangement.

That promise has not been kept. Ministers swear that they have evidence of violations of the agreement. Their complaint should be made, not clamorously from the housetops, but quietly to Mr. Rakovsky. But this is not done.

This is, of course, a breach not only of the understanding of 1923 but of the spirit of the provision of the Trade Agreement which lays down that in the event of either party believing that the propaganda provisions have been infringed, "the aggrieved party shall give the other party a reasonable opportunity of furnishing an explanation."

No such opportunity is given. No definite charge is made. "I cannot think," says Mr. Chamberlain in the House, "that I am called upon to give details of particular occasions." "We never give positive proof. Why should we?" says his Under-Secretary.

It is a remarkable point of view. Here we have the two responsible Ministers deliberately and publicly making the gravest charges against a Government with which our relations are supposed to be friendly and then blandly declaring that they have not the slightest intention of producing the smallest scrap of evidence in support of their statements. One must conclude either that they are off their heads or that they are deliberately endeavouring to foment a quarrel, that the British Government does not want normal relations to be established, does not want misunderstandings to be removed, does not want grievances to be redressed. One may add that its use of passport regulations to sabotage the work of the Russian commercial organisations, and its obstinate refusal to include Russia in the scope of the Export Credits scheme, suggest that it does not want Anglo-Russian trade to develop. Mr. McNeill's speech in the House last month is a strong confirmation of this.

The whole attitude of the Government in fact makes it clear that British diplomacy is directing its energies not to improving relations between the two countries, but to preparing for an open

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rupture. Grievances are being accumulated in order that they may be produced at the chosen moment in justification of some aggressive action.

But, comes the obvious question, if the Foreign Office is working for a break why did it hang back in July when the firebrands of the Cabinet were clamouring for a bag and baggage expulsion of Rakovsky and all his colleagues ?

The answer is as plain as the question was obvious. The Foreign Office hung back because—even apart from the Labour opposition at home—it did not consider the moment opportune. Action was counted premature, because the diplomatic preparations were not complete.

It is the wise tradition of British diplomacy to furnish itself with allies before embarking on open conflict with a rival. And it is now the primary—but as yet uncompleted—task of our diplomats to build up a formidable combination against Russia as an essential preliminary to a rupture. That is in this case a doubly necessary precaution. For a single-handed break with Russia would merely have the effect of transferring to Berlin or Paris, to Milan or New York a great block of Russian trade now done with London. It would damage Great Britain far more than it would damage Russia. But if all the big industrial powers broke off relations simultaneously, Russia's foreign trade would be strangled, a blockade would be automatically established, and none of our trade rivals would be able to pick up the commerce which we should be deliberately sacrificing.

Therefore the purpose of British diplomacy is, before forcing a rupture with Russia, to align against her all, or as many as possible of the Powers, to break down her friendships, to strengthen all elements hostile to her, to isolate her and expose her to an encircling attack. Given the premises, such a policy is the merest common sense.

Challenged, the Government will, of course, deny that any such policy is being pursued. But that denial will meet with polite incredulity in every Chancellery in Europe. From Rome to Reval, every diplomat, in his calculations, assumes as axiomatic that British policy in 1925 is as definitely motived and shaped by hostility to the Soviet Union as it was motived and shaped, in the

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years before 1914, by rivalry with Germany. And the majority take it more or less for granted that the result will be the same.

Twice Mr. Chamberlain has made direct and rather crude attempts at securing joint action by the Allied Powers against Russia. The first was at the Rome meeting last December, the second was that pretty plan (of which its authors were singularly proud) of a joint demand for the expulsion of the Comintern headquarters from Moscow. Each broke down because of the reluctance of France and the definite opposition of Italy.

The next step was the Pact proposal, emanating from Berlin, but inspired from Downing Street.

Its ostensible purpose is to restore peace to Western Europe. Its real purpose in the eyes of Downing Street is to separate Russia from Germany, to destroy the work done at Rapallo, to isolate the Soviet Government in Europe. That, at any rate, is the view of the Quai d'Orsay, of the Wilhelmstrasse, of the Belvedere, of the Consulta, as well as of the Kuznetsky Most.

It is a view which constantly finds expression in the European Press.

"The anti-Soviet bloc of which the London Cabinet is thinking must include Germany if it is to be complete," says the *Action Française*, "that is the real meaning of the Pact, its secret and profound *raison d'être*."

"British policy," says the *Gazeta Warszawska*, "is directed by the clearly established tendency to align Germany against Russia. The struggle over the Pact is, for England, a war against the Treaty of Rapallo."

"England's plan," says the *Vossische Zeitung*, "is to cast a ring round Moscow from the Baltic to the Black Sea."

These are representative extracts, which could be duplicated over and over again. It is only in England that the British Government's professions of single-minded concern for the peace of Europe are taken seriously.

Now the Pact plan, which seemed so simple in the conception, is proving unexpectedly difficult in the working out. For Germany —as the Poles warned Mr. Chamberlain at the very beginning— wants a high price for her complaisance. And that high price, if paid at the expense of France and Poland (and the Foreign Office

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is a firm believer in vicarious sacrifice), may forfeit the co-operation of those two very essential Powers. At the time at which I write M. Briand is calmly suggesting to Mr. Chamberlain that if France is to take a hand against Russia, Great Britain must accept in its entirety the French thesis on the Pact; while Mr. Chamberlain realises uneasily that if he does this bang goes his hope of roping-in Germany and breaking the Rapallo understanding. Coalition building is a hard task and the Governments of Europe show a most reprehensible disinclination to subordinate their own purposes to the requirements of Great Britain's Imperial policy.

The small Powers have been as troublesome as the large. As a complement to the Big Power group, Mr. Chamberlain has worked energetically, if unimaginatively, for the re-establishment of Clemenceau's *cordon sanitaire*, for an alliance of those border states, which by closing their frontiers could, with the aid of the British fleet, shut down a *de facto* blockade on the Soviet Union, and which are the natural and, indeed, only bases from which to conduct hostile operations in Europe for the weakening of Russia in Asia.

The reluctance of Poland, for various reasons, to enter into the scheme broke it into two halves. And British diplomacy, weak at Warsaw, has been driven to conduct separate campaigns in the Balkans and in the Baltic.

Neither, so far, has been over-successful. Every attempt to bring about a Balkan entente has broken down on the Macedonian question. Both the Serbian and the Bulgarian Governments are willing enough to gain sympathy and support from Downing Street by talking enthusiastically about the fight against Communism. But neither of them is in the least prepared to shake hands with the other.

The Bulgarian Government damns the Agrarians as "tools of Belgrade" and is far more afraid of Serbian than of Soviet conspiracies. The Serbian Government says that the first step to an Entente must be the suppression of the Macedonian organisation—everybody, of course, knowing perfectly well that if the wretched Tsankoff did try to suppress Messrs. Protogueroff and Co, "the horse would blow first." The Serbo-Greek squabble over Salonica, Rumano-Bulgar troubles over the Dobrudja, the hatred of the

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Rumanian royal family for the Greek Republic, all add to the complexities of a situation in which Mr. Chamberlain's diplomatists flounder rather helplessly.

Therefore it is that, rather despairing of the Balkans, where even the Sofia Cathedral outrage failed to secure the desired solidarity—most Bulgarians obstinately regarding it still as inspired not from Moscow but from Belgrade—Downing Street has tended of late to concentrate its attention rather on the Baltic.

Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania. Here was an excellent opportunity for an able diplomacy.

With Esthonia and Latvia the game was comparatively simple. Financially they are already under British influence. Psychologically their Governments are conscious of instability, intensely afraid of their powerful neighbour. If England would guarantee their frontiers against invasion and their institutions against revolution, if she would be lenient in the matter of their debts, obliging in the matter of new loans, if she would furnish them with plenty of munitions, if she would spend money lavishly on a new naval base at the entrance to the Gulf of Finland, why then the Esthonian and Latvian Governments were prepared to be Mr. Chamberlain's obedient servants.

So far so good. But the Baltic plan needs more than Esthonia and Latvia. Alone they would be no asset but a big liability. For a Baltic bloc to be adequately troublesome to Russia it must include at least Lithuania and Finland—with, if possible, the Scandinavian countries in reserve behind Finland.

Now the luring of the Scandinavian countries has proved more difficult than was foreseen. Finland will take no risks unless assured of complete and effective support from Sweden. And Lithuania, considerably to the annoyance of the Foreign Office, is definitely unwilling to take her place in the ranks of an anti-Soviet combination. At an adequate price she might do so. But the price would be Vilna. And that—given the relationship of Britain to France and of France to Poland—is wildly out of the question. The naïve idea—emanating either from Downing Street or from the British Embassy in Berlin—that Poland might cede the Danzig corridor to Germany and Vilna to Lithuania in exchange for Memel has been laughed out of court.

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Therefore—as M. Meirowicz, making a virtue of necessity, has hastened to assure the Warsaw press—an Esthonian-Latvian-Lithuanian combination is out of the question for the moment. The hope that by dropping Lithuania Poland may be brought into the combination is a faint one. Mr. Chamberlain is left with Esthonia, Latvia and a dubious Finland.

That, and a Pact negotiation whose issue is still on the laps of the gods is, so far, the net result of nine months' diplomatic intrigue in Europe. Not, on the whole, a creditable performance, even when one takes full account of the difficulties..

Simultaneously with the European policy, the Asiatic policy of the British Government has, of course, been directed to the same end. China is far too big a subject to be discussed here and now : but the anti-Soviet inspiration in our policy is obvious at every turn. In Persia there has been considerable success. The Government and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company between them have secured an ascendancy at Teheran which is very notable. To achieve that ascendancy we have ruthlessly sacrificed our "faithful ally" the Sheikh of Muhammarah, who has lost his power and is likely at any moment to lose his life. In Afghanistan we have been far less successful. The Amir has not forgotten 1919. As to Iraq and the Mosul problem, it would be foolish to attempt to foretell the issue of this month's intriguing at Geneva. But one may note that the British claim for a military foothold in the Hakkiari mountains is motived by strategic considerations which are concerned with the probabilities not of a Turkish but of a Russian war. It is the old problem of North Western India—the search for a "scientific frontier," not against the immediate neighbour, but against the Great Power whose borders are only a hundred miles or so to the north.

Search British policy where you will—in China or in Mesopotamia, in the Balkans or on the Rhine—its guiding motive is the same, preparation for a struggle with Soviet Russia. The diplomats seek to isolate the enemy and to build coalitions against her. The soldiers prepare "scientific frontiers." The sailors look for naval bases—the Aaland Islands or Oesel in the Baltic, Constanza or Mangalia in the Black Sea. (The new cruisers are of the precise tonnage—10,000 tons—allowed in the Black Sea under the

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Straits Convention.) The politicians keep up an incessant propaganda of hate.

The portents are plain to read, as plain as—*mutatis mutandis*—they were in the days of Agadir or the Bosnian crisis. Imperialist Britain is getting ready for a fight to the death with Soviet Russia. That fight will come, maybe next year, maybe the year after, maybe the year after that, but quite certainly and inevitably, unless in the meantime Imperialist Britain becomes Workers' Britain.

He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

Our Reprints

We remind our readers of the pamphlets that we issue from time to time as reprints from our pages. These include "The Diplomacy of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald," by U.D.C. *(Threepence), "Problems of the Labour Movement," by* P. BRAUN *(Twopence), "The Burning Question of International Unity," by* A. A. PURCELL *(One Penny), and "Face-Pidgin : the Chinese Struggle," by* TIEN SEN SHIAO.

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THE EMPIRE LABOUR CONFERENCE

By MAURICE SPECTOR

THEY called it the " Commonwealth " Labour Conference on the principle of the clever ostrich which sticks its head into the sand and believes its pursuers outwitted. But an Empire, five-sixths of whose inhabitants are subject to capitalist exploitation, and which is maintained by sheer military coercion, does not become a " commonwealth " by a little sleight of hand. This initial camouflage was bound to set its imprint of insincerity on everything that followed, atmosphere, agenda and proceedings. Invitations to participate in the Conference had only been sent to the " kosher " Labour parties of the Empire, of course. But in case some black left-wing sheep should manage to be on the delegations nevertheless, due measures were taken to prevent any unpleasant publicity. It was decided that only the Chairman's address, from day to day, would be made public; the rest of the proceedings were shrouded in diplomatic secrecy. At the end of each session a sterilised official report covering about two foolscap pages was issued, containing nothing that could hurt the feelings, say, of the Royal Family. Finally it was decided that no resolutions should be passed.

The Conference was a hang-over from the days of the Labour Government and its policy of Continuity. It was conceived to demonstrate to the British bourgeoisie that Labour was quite as safely imperialistic (and " fit to govern ") as the Tories, only more so—and to mobilise Labour opinion in the Dominions for the imperial, foreign, and war-policies of the Labour Government. Provincials far-removed from the metropolis and Real-Politik are notoriously backward and it would be embarrassing for the Ramsay MacDonalds to have Labour in the Dominions take their professions of " pacifism " seriously. In his key-note speech welcoming the delegates, MacDonald made all this quite clear. " There seems to be an assumption in this country," he declared, " that the Tory Party, the party of Reaction, is the only party that cares anything

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about the Empire. This was so much fudge and humbug," a declaration that was warmly received in the Tory Press. He sedulously avoided any reference to the imperial record of the Labour Government, but as more than one delegate remembered his threat that he would stand no nonsense from an Indian Revolution, his treatment of Zaglul's demands for Egypt, and his Mr. Leach's activities as Minister for the bombing of Irak, MacDonald's statement was hardly news.

The agenda drawn up for the Conference could just as comfortably and suitably find its place at a Liberal Summer-School. Inter-Commonwealth Relations (where there is no "Commonwealth"), the Geneva Protocol, International Labour Legislation, inter-Dominion trade relations, these are the items of an agenda that accepts the Empire, the "League of Nations" and the Treaty of Versailles as a *status quo*, within which "constructive" work must be done. There is little or nothing that distinguishes this agenda as of Labour or Socialism. Small wonder that one Colonial delegate, not a Communist but a somewhat old-fashioned Socialist, after listening to Arthur Henderson's apologetic for the Geneva Protocol, lost his patience and crudely asked what all this business of capitalist Protocol versus capitalist Security Pact had to do with the workers and Socialism anyway. By way of reply Henderson pointed out that nothing had put the brake on Socialist ideas more than the war (*i.e.*, the betrayal of Socialism by the Second International). Therefore apparently one had to go on putting the brake on! The usual "League of Nations" stuff was gone through solemnly. There was regret that the important industrial powers had not ratified the Conventions of the International Labour Bureau and the hope expressed that in the future it would be otherwise. A conference was suggested between the representatives of the South African Labour movement and the Indian Trades Union Congress to discuss the question of Indian immigration, but there was no clear cut demand for the free immigration of workers in the Empire irrespective of colour bars. The Palestinian delegates attempted to obtain the blessing of the Conference for the British mandate but were disappointed by the opposition that developed. As to inter-Dominion trade relations, MacDonald glibly proposed wholesale purchases by committees (under capitalist auspices, presumably).

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The resolution in favour of Indian self-determination at first sight looks like the exception to the prevailing futility of the Conference from the workers' point of view. The Conference went on record in favour of self-determination for India. But the sting in the tail of self-determination is its precise definition as self-determination to the point of secession and independence. And the Conference did not go out of its way to define it. A Labour Government in the future is no more committed to a policy of Indian emancipation than Ramsay MacDonald was, who used the phrase of self-determination long before the war. The Tory imperialists will not be very much disturbed by this resolution.

The composition of the Conference reflected all the elements of contradiction, antagonism, and uncertainty that prevail in the British Empire. The extreme Right was consciously working for an imperialist policy that would stick at nothing to maintain the Empire. There is another group that through sheer muddle-headedness and inability to grasp the implications of Empire are trying to balance themselves with a foot in each camp. Lansbury talking about the possibility of transforming the Empire into a "Socialist Commonwealth" is a crass example. It has also found expression in the Empire leanings and imperial preference votes of Kirkwood and Wheatley. But there was a third group represented that must make up its mind to take more than a merely casual part in a Conference of this kind—that was the Swales-Purcell element which struck the only genuine proletarian note throughout the whole proceedings.

"Imperialism," said Swales, the Chairman of the Trades Union Congress, "marks the last stage in the development of capitalism." These are golden words. In this stage of reduced living standards for the workers at home, intense exploitation of the cheap labour of the Colonies, imperialist antagonisms leading to war and colonial uprisings as in China and Morocco, it is of vital importance for British Labour to understand the politics and economics of Imperialism and to draw the proper conclusions. The position of the British Empire in particular reveals all the contradictions and antagonisms of an Empire in dissolution. At home, industrial decline; abroad, the competition of the American Empire with its financial supremacy; in the Dominions industrialisation leading

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to independence ; in India, Egypt and Irak ferment and smothered revolt ; open revolt in China, and finally the shadow of the Soviet Union with its living demonstration of Workers' Rule and national self-determination.

The policy the workers should pursue to combat the disastrous consequences of Capitalist-Imperialism was clearly indicated by Purcell. That policy is not more Imperialism but the organised power of the working-class to wage the class-struggle against Imperialism. To have called an Empire Conference with the end in view of strengthening the Labour Movement in the different parts of what Purcell called " the world's biggest slave plantation " would have been a memorable contribution to the cause of the workers. But the authors of the Conference were not actuated by Socialist or internationalist motives. When German capitalism was in a parlous state after the military collapse, the German Social Democracy worked with might and main for its restoration. Now that the foundations of the British Empire are crumbling, and the Tory imperialists themselves, as shown at one Imperial Conference after another, are helpless, the British Social-Democrats have gallantly come to the rescue. As was abundantly clear from the questionnaire passed round at the Conference, the problems that agitate MacDonald are a unified Empire foreign policy, Dominion support of British armament " requirements," and imperial solidarity in the next British war emergency.

Of course MacDonald's Labour Imperialism is no more able to bridge the deep-rooted antagonisms undermining the structure of Empire than Tory Imperialism. But in the effort, he can work irreparable harm to Labour itself. He can bewilder the workers and set them off on false scents. He can poison the atmosphere. Once committed to MacDonald's policy, Labour in the metropolis might find itself fighting to suppress colonial peoples in revolt for freedom. It is an ugly prospect but, as Morocco can demonstrate, not novel. The attitude of MacDonald in no whit differs from that of Renaudel or Jouhaux in France.

The Empire Labour Conference would have been a moral force if it had faced issues clearly and called a spade a spade ; if the record of the Labour Government in Imperial and foreign affairs had been passed in pitiless review ; if Swales' clear definition of Imperialism

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and Purcell's clear call for working-class internationalism and international trade union unity had been its key notes, instead of its perfunctory tail-end ; if it had resolved to develop the working-class movement in the different parts of the Empire and link it up with the revolt of the Colonial peoples under the banner of self-determination to the point of secession ; if it had exposed the swindle of the International Labour Bureau and opposed the *status quo* of the Treaty of Versailles ; if it had resolved to combat the menace of imperialist war through international trade union unity and alliance with the Soviet Union. As it was, the Conference has merely enabled Mr. MacDonald to claim at the next elections that he is a better "Imperial statesman" than anyone in the Tory fold.

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INDEPENDENT WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION

By A. M. ROBERTSON

Acting Principal of the Labour College

MUCH has been written and said about independent education for the working class. At the present juncture when, on the one hand, this same independent educational movement is facing a new phase in the problem of extension, and, on the other, the industrial movement is facing the problems of centralisation and of extended solidarity, it may not be amiss to emphasise once more some of the salient features in educational independence.

Now what is the meaning of I.W.C.E. ? And if it is independent can it be scientific, and if it is scientific can it be biassed ? These are all closely related points in our philosophy of education, and we ought to be clear and definite about them because they are constantly cropping up.

The view of our opponents, and sometimes of our would-be friends, is that education cannot have a bias and be scientific, and, therefore, that there is no urgent need for independent working-class education; that something of a neutral type is what is wanted; something purely disinterested.

Now we must get rid of the idea that we must be biassed because the working class gets a rough time. That is true, but of itself it does not make a science. We may resent the poverty and misery, but our resentment must be more than impulsive to be justified as scientific. Our bias is neither sentimental nor ethical in the last analysis, the ethical situation being dependent on the scientific and arising out of it. We must therefore discover the scientific law underlying bias.

When the wood is viewed apart from the trees an examination of past educational systems reveals two outstanding features. The

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first of these is that all these systems have been, *when definitely worked out*, in the interests of the governing class, with the double purpose of (*a*) the maintenance of the existing political domination, and (*b*) the enjoyment and culture of the privileged class. The second, that *changes* in the educational system, in form and content, have been the result of changes in the nature of social organisation, arising from the advent of a new class in economic life, involving new needs in the economic sphere, in law and order, and in culture.

History further shows that new systems are at first heretical, being opposed to the current political order; then liberal, endeavouring to extend their following for a larger attack; then governmental and static when power has been won; then in the decline of power, self-satisfied, dilettante, futile and reactionary, opposing all movement to any further advance which might mean a diminution of their prestige and privileges.

If these two propositions are true, namely, that education, like the economic system, is a class affair and that each new class must work out a new educational advance, then it surely follows that Labour, as a new economic class, must be independent as to the type of education that is necessary for its self-expansion, for its new needs industrially and politically, and for its inevitable attack on the dominating political system.

That, it seems to me, is the scientific law guiding educational progress in class society; and it is here that the meaning of bias as a necessary historical factor in education appears. Bias does not mean getting angry; it does not mean falsification; it does not mean prejudice or perversity; but it does mean punch and enthusiasm, the enthusiasm and punch that come of being on the side of progress, with all the forces of social evolution to fall back upon and to build from, and the more so as class-consciousness develops and we have the whole field of history to clarify our vision and direct our strategy.

It would take too long to cover the whole ground and prove the above statements here, but one or two instances may be cited in illustration. For example, an orthodox historian says of Chinese education: "The most important result to notice is that Chinese education accomplishes its great purpose in that it secures the stability of society, the perpetuity of the empire, the conservation

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of the past." Another says: "It is the consensus of opinion that Confucius did not teach morals for the sake of the individual, but to secure the peace and stability of the empire." Still another, that "the disciplinary education of England based upon classical literature was, and is yet, favoured in an aristocratic form of society where the forces of social stability find greater emphasis than those of social progress."

The same ideas run through Greek education, and here can be seen the change in education from the older type, running from 900 B.C. to 450 B.C., when bravery and the service of the community were the supreme virtues, to the newer type, coming in about 450 B.C. This latter was the result of the rise of trade and commerce followed by "social, moral, literary and philosophical changes."

"The growth of democracy had been the triumph of the trading and commercial classes, who were now possessed of the rights of citizenship, with the result of opening up a great variety of new opportunities for individual advance." Greater emphasis was now laid on personal interests as against those of the State, and we have a period of semi-individualism; and in the organised institutions "education becomes more distinctly a school process looking toward intellectual and practical, that is, individual ends."

This again hardens into a more exclusive and reactionary form under Plato, and then Aristotle, who says: "Of all things which I have mentioned that which contributes most to the permanence of constitutions is the adaptation of education to the form of government."

There is not space to describe an almost similar development in Roman education up to the period of the decline of the Roman Empire when "such education as flourished was for the satisfaction or the adornment of this class of society alone"—that is, the imperialistic aristocrats. "This education is now to be judged not as the practical training of a whole people, but as an adornment to a hollow, superficial, usually corrupt, society; not as the expression of the highest aims in life, but as a dilettante interest, more often still as an affectation; not as a stage of development possible for an entire people, or at least for individuals of any rank, but as an attainment or badge of distinction of a favoured class."

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So on through the centuries till we come, in the eleventh, to the scholastic period, when the orthodox practitioners had to meet the disruptive tendencies of the heretical movements " by argument as well as by force." The purpose of education now was to persuade the world that faith had a basis in reason, but all knowledge nevertheless had to be sanctioned by the Church.

Again in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the rising middle class in England set out to create an education of their own under the control of the guilds or the burgh councils and free from ecclesiastical influence. The reaction against the clergy and the landlords had been under way for some time for various reasons, but educationally it now took the form of the introduction of subjects more useful to a commercial class than Latin.

The great controversies of the Reformation period, when each side was out for the control of the young mind, again give us a very clear picture of the impossibility of finding neutral ground in controversial subjects. Where mass interests are concerned no neutral ground exists nor can exist. That is just how the human mind works. The interests of the group or class must be preserved and the group will see to that. Individuals may leave their own class or resist it, but no class has ever yet abdicated from its supposed right to be right. All that is left for us is to decide which class is, in its own period, progressive, which class is working in line with evolution. That class, within its own historical limits, places the correct interpretation upon events, and must be right.

If then a scientific analysis of history shows us that the next class ahead is the working class, that class must organise its own education, because the aims, educational and other, of the capitalist class are in direct opposition and will never produce the new society.

As far as modern State education is concerned the position is the same. One might say that modern education in England was the result of two ideas held by the upper and middle classes. Children, if educated, would become more intelligent workers and, if their education was properly handled, more docile and subservient. Not all held these views. Others, instinctively or otherwise, saw danger ahead, and when, in 1807, Whitbread introduced his Parish Schools Bill, one of the diehards said:

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" Learning will point out to the poor enjoyments which Providence hath wisely and tenderly concealed." Rather a subtle form of tenderness.

But the general aim throughout the nineteenth century and even up to the present day, so far as social subjects are concerned, was to imbue the working class with a capitalist outlook while increasing efficiency for the extraction of profit. What is the subject of civics for but the inculcation of the idea that capitalist society is a fit and proper thing for the adoration of the worker—that it is an organic whole where each and all have similar chances of success. No doubt the teaching is often overlaid and rationalised, but atmosphere and suggestion work their deadly effect.

An L.C.C. school inspector, F. H. Hayward, D.Litt., describing the Celebration Movement, put forward in the *Torchbearer* for June, 1924, some suggestions for service celebrations. " A service celebration," he says, " which ends with a sort of collective vow or dedication, stands very close to a religious service." Of service celebrations already given he names the following: Home; City; England; League of Nations; Animals; Temperance; Work and Thrift; Courtesy. Of those in preparation the following: Empire; Education; Childhood; Youth; Age. Not bad that, making a religious service out of the Empire and the League of Nations.

I refer to this article for two reasons. In the first place the magazine claims to be a very advanced educational one, and in the second these ideas correspond to the type of thought current amongst our capitalist politicians. Mr. Baldwin was reported to say the other day, " I am convinced that if the time should come when the *community* has to protect itself, with the full strength of the Government behind it, the community will do so, and the response of the community will astonish the forces of anarchy throughout the world." Now all Marxists know that society to-day is far from being a community, for we are just as clearly divided as consumers as we are when producers; but when this sort of stuff is worked up in school it is easy for the politician to come along and reap the harvest.

Let us realise, then, that we must be independent, radically independent; that independence means bias, because the capitalist interpretation of events is not the progressive one but the reactionary

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one; and that our bias being the result of seeing things progressively must be not only right but scientific. There is no neutral ground —and there can be no compromise. Our education is not primarily for the cultural development of the individual but for the next great change in social organisation. All education is useless apart from its application to life. This is where older systems run to seed—new needs arise, and the groups with those new needs must see to it that the new needs are satisfied, for the older groups will not. The workers must in fact develop their own education on the lines of historic and economic necessity.

Now it is in its application to the current industrial and economic conditions that I.W.C.E. will and must be tested. If it does not analyse these, and, to a certain extent, forecast the trend and supply the necessary strategy for the class struggle, then it is woefully lacking somewhere. There is undoubtedly a tendency, at the present time, to minimise this fundamental aspect of Marxist education and perhaps to rest on the oars of past successes; but to me the trial time is ahead and not behind. As we approach, through capitalist disruption, to the social revolution that so many are now discussing, there will arise sections that will hope to slow the process down or side-track it into more pleasant and flowery paths by a display of verbal gymnastics or glib scholastic theorising. Though this cannot prevent the iron march of events it can do a great deal of damage and must at all costs be fought.

The most striking and the most heartening event that the present generation has witnessed has been the recent united action of the Trade Union Movement in face, not merely of the employers, but of the employers' State itself. What better practical demonstration of the class struggle and of the correctness of Marxist theory could anyone wish than this—that in a period of industrial depression the most important section of the working class should stand together, united and with a single front, in face of the final enemy, the capitalist State. What else won the victory—temporary though it be—but working-class solidarity? Now it is just here that Marxist education comes in. Being a Marxist, I do not, of course, claim that Marxist education has been altogether responsible for this—the general economic situation, with the initiation of a widespread capitalist attack, combined also with the recent

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experience of the Trade Union Movement, were largely responsible. But can we be certain that this unity in action will be continued and developed? It is the duty of the Marxist to see that it is, by providing the intellectual grounds for it, not only on the industrial field but on the political as well—for a mass industrial fight is a political fight. What else is it that separates individuals and splits the movement in a crisis but the divergent political views held by the various participants? There ought to be no room for conflicting political theories when an industrial crisis is upon us. The repeated failures of the Chartist and other mass movements show that class education is needed to get the class point of view, the class solidarity and the class strategy. The point is that it is fairly easy to agree as to a political or industrial programme—divergent politicians can easily draw up a series of demands, but the difficulty arises when these demands run the risk of being turned down and require to be backed up by drastic action. Out come the political theories and the argument begins over the method to be adopted, if any at all, till time passes and it is too late to do anything. A scientific view of history and economics would make this either impossible or sheer treachery.

Once safe as to fundamental theory we are likely to be safe in industrial and political practice.

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CAPITALISM, LABOUR AND THE PRESS

By WILLIAM PAUL

THE modern propertied interests control the most efficient instruments for maintaining economic and political power ever devised by any ruling class in history. They have organised their organs of attack and defence in every strand in the social fabric. Inside every institution and group—from the most innocent religious bethel up to the armed forces of the State—they have their sleepless defenders.

They even penetrate and undermine, with some degree of success, the very organisations set up by the Labour Movement. The more moderate or Right-wing these organisations are, the more easily do the capitalist agents carry on their work of transforming them into bulwarks to defend the propertied interests.

Judging by their public pronouncements, there are many leaders in the Labour Movement who, by their open support of the capitalist press, do not understand the line of causation that links up and binds the peaceful propaganda of capitalist ideas and theories to open violence. These leaders do not seem to comprehend the nature and function of capitalism in its historic struggle to stave off defeat at the hands of the workers. It is thus no accident that the first step made by Mussolini away from the Labour Movement was that of writing attacks upon the Left-wing of the Movement in the capitalist press. Having taken this step it was easy for him to take the further two steps that made him the incarnation of capitalist violence against the masses.

The policy adopted by any Labour leader towards the capitalist press is a real test which predetermines what his attitude will be towards the workers during any period of social conflict. (There are many leaders, of course, who must use the capitalist press as a medium of ordinary publicity.) But the particular type we have in mind is that well-known specimen that uses the millionaire press-combine and receives subsidies from it to attack the fighting

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wing of the Labour Movement. It may even happen in this country that certain propertied interests will provide them with a " Labour " paper to enable them to carry on this work.

It is, therefore, very necessary for us, in Britain, to watch most carefully those moderate leaders who receive subsidies from the millionaire press-combines for writing open attacks upon Labour's Left-wing. And we must view with suspicion those financial interests who are exerting themselves to provide the Right-wing with a Sunday newspaper to be run upon " sane and moderate lines."

Besides, many serious and honest members of the Labour Movement view the capitalist press as an instrument for conducting a *peaceful* opposition against Labour. In practice, it is the press that provokes and directs *violence* against the masses. It is, therefore, in England that the press has become one of the sharpest weapons in that conflict.

One of the revolutionary slogans of the bourgeoisie against their class enemies was that of a " free press." In the great struggle between the bourgeoisie and the reactionary monarchists news-sheets and political pamphlets made their appearance. Having broken the power of the Crown and the Church over the control of printing, the capitalist class have always contended that they won the right of a " free press." *It is necessary to remember, however, that a free press is only " free " to a propertied class which has the economic means to expend wealth in subsidising and maintaining printing establishments.*

But even the historical claim that capitalism has made a free press possible will not bear serious examination.

During every period of acute social crisis under capitalism the ruling class have always found ways and means of preventing their opponents from freely using the press. When the French Revolution encouraged ardent and discontented elements in England to engage in a bold agitation, the press was immediately muzzled.

Similar tactics were pursued from time to time during the last century. So long as Chartist, Labour and Trade Union papers were strictly " constitutional," and were not backed by any organised power that threatened to endanger capitalism, so long these progressive and reform elements were permitted to enjoy the fruits

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of a "free press." The moment, however, they ceased to be "constitutional," and had some organised power behind them that seemed a menace to the ruling class, their presses were immediately smashed on some pretext or other.

During the period that British Capitalism was able to send its products into the world's market and successfully compete with the then rising industrial nations, like Germany and America, and when the industrial and political situation was running smoothly, it was possible for the ruling class to adopt a policy of paternal benevolence towards the workers. But when imperialist capitalism began its fierce internecine struggle over markets, zones of influence, sources of raw materials and trade routes, the attitude of the British employers towards the workers was increasingly sharpened.

Side by side with this intensification of the class conflict the capitalists conducted a strenuous campaign to popularise their views and ideas among the workers. It was at this point that the all-importance of their control over the press made itself felt. From that moment the press has been one of the most aggressive weapons in the interests of capital against labour.

This is the real explanation why such a change has taken place in the development of the press during the last thirty years. With the advent of the modern Labour Movement the organisation and method of ownership of the press has been revolutionised. Thirty years ago newspapers were in the hands of editorial proprietors, who each endeavoured to give an individual tone to their paper. The ideas of the paper were those of the editor. While there was infinite variety, there was little or no cohesion of thought in the press. At that time the London Stock Exchange did not contain one single newspaper corporation. To-day there are several large companies and their capital runs into many millions. This reveals that not only has the press been enlarged and extended, as a weapon against the workers, but it has become one of the richest fields of capitalist investment. Journalism has ceased to be a profession. It has become an engine of commerce for digging up dividends.

The position of the press as a machine for turning out profits must be examined for a moment. To gain profits a newspaper must get readers by the million. Newspapers, by their nature, spread

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broadcast certain ideas. The modern press, being such an important asset for making profits, must of necessity defend modern capitalism. This means, in short, that the modern press must spread those ideas, which, in action, are opposed to the Labour Movement. We see here the explanation why capitalist newspapers denounce those Labour leaders who are leading the workers to make an attack upon profits, and conversely, why they praise those leaders who plead for an industrial truce and who advocate that the interests of capital and labour are identical. In a word, the capitalist press must defend the propertied interests for the simple reason that the capitalist press in recent years has become, itself, one of the greatest of the modern propertied interests.

It is necessary to explain, at the outset, that it is not always easy to give the real owners of the modern press, because many financiers work and operate their control through nominee companies or nominal shareholders. This was most dramatically illustrated in March, 1920, in the case of "Rhondda versus the *Western Mail*," where it was revealed how industrial magnates held newspaper shares in the name of nominal agents. It was also shown in this case why Lord Rhondda, a South Wales coal owner, did not desire it to be publicly known that he was part owner of the *Western Mail*. This journal was a Conservative organ and Lord Rhondda was a Liberal. As it was the most important paper in South Wales it was necessary to have some control over it in order to direct its attacks against the proposals of the Miners for the nationalisation of the mines. All this was admitted during the hearing of the case.

One of the biggest newspaper combines in the world is that headed by the three brothers Berry. In their struggle to obtain control of the press the above group recently took over a series of provincial papers, particularly on the Clyde, the Tyne and in Lancashire, where the great mass of the workers are directly engaged in the coal, iron, steel, shipbuilding and textile industries. When the Manchester *Daily Dispatch* or *Evening Chronicle*, the Glasgow *Daily Record* or *Evening News*, or the *Newcastle Chronicle* are stating the case during any industrial dispute we can depend upon it that it will not be the workers' case that will be put forward. And when these organs are making rhetorical appeals to the workers not to

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injure " society " or the " community " and to accept the judgment of " public opinion " we know what these bogeys are and what they represent.

The Berry Group, Allied Newspapers, Ltd., showed a profit of over a million pounds last year. Their chairman declared that their 1924-5 earnings were equal to nearly 22 per cent. after discharging a full year's interest on loan and preference capital. This group not only earns big profits from their papers, but they use some of their journals, like the Weldon publications, to stimulate their interests in the textile industry. We have here an illustration that the press is part and parcel of the profit-making machine.

This becomes obvious when we know that well-known industrial and financial interests appear on the directors' boards and in the shareholders' lists of all the important capitalist journals. Not only do individual captains of industry figure there but large blocks of shares in many newspapers are held by important insurance companies and banks.

The big press combines earn enormous profits. During 1924-5, as we have seen, the Berry Group realised a profit of over one million pounds. The Amalgamated Press, Ltd. (controlled by the Harmsworth Group) show a record of high profits on its paid up capital of £1,065,000. The lowest dividend from 1901-2 to 1920-21 was in 1903-4 when thirty-five per cent. was paid. In nine years (1913-1921) profits amounting to £4,142,190 were paid, or almost four times the amount of the original capital. Another of the Harmsworths' undertakings paid sixty per cent. for five years. One can easily understand why when the Berry Group floated the Allied Northern Newspaper, Ltd., and wanted £2,300,000 that the issue was over-subscribed in a few hours.

There is no escape from the facts, all of which prove that profit-making and the perpetuation of capitalism is the first and main objective of the modern press. It is true that the big newspapers attack each other from time to time. But if these internecine quarrels are carefully studied, particularly with an eye on the nature of the specialised economic interests behind the journals involved, it will be found that the dispute has arisen over a difference in methods of profit-making The industrialists will attack the financiers and vice-versa.

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Beneath all these domestic tiffs there is absolute harmony regarding the need for a steady and united attack upon the demands of the workers and the militant leaders in the Labour Movement.

In the early days of capitalism it was possible, by stupendous efforts of thrift, to open out in business in a small way. At this period the capitalist class—by destroying the restrictions of the Guilds and the monopoly control of the Crown over certain undertakings—had some reasons for declaring that it had established freedom in trade. It also boasted that it had made the press free. But, as we have seen, during any political crisis which set up any rebellious ferment among the masses, the offending press was always destroyed in the interests of the ruling class under the plea that the "safety of the realm was endangered." This means, in practice, that capitalism, and its much vaunted democratic freedom of the press, places no restrictions in the way of any newspaper or publication that loyally abides by the economic and political code established by the propertied interests. The moment any journal, however, gets sufficient revolutionary backing to make it a political danger to capitalism, it is promptly suppressed.

In case anyone thinks this is mere theoretical conjecture, let me relate my own experiences as an editor during the war. From 1915 to the end of the war I edited a virile anti-militarist monthly journal that had a good circulation in the engineering industry on the Clyde and amongst the South Wales miners. The policy of the paper was not the negative one of making a gesture of sentimental pacifist despair, regarding the war. It adopted a positive attitude and gave direct encouragement to every grievance of the workers that could be utilised against the Government. Time after time attempts were made to suppress the paper and the firms who printed it were sometimes closed down by the police. My trouble did not end when a printer was found who was bold enough to stand up against the terrorist tactics of the police. The real problem was to find paper to send to the printers.

The experience of the war, like any period of social upheaval under capitalism, proved most conclusively that the claim of modern democracy that the press is free is sheer hypocritical cant.

This becomes even more apparent when one turns from the political to the financial aspect of the modern press. The law of the

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concentration and centralisation of capital into ever fewer hands, is true not only of general industrial development—it is one of the main facts of the press to-day. Not a month passes but one or other of the Press Trusts takes over some paper. This means that the greatest instrument of political publicity is passing into the control of those who, because of their economic interests, must necessarily oppose the most elementary demands of the working class.

As a result of the finance poured into the modern press by the propertied interests, the technical equipment of a first-class paper has become such that the late Kennedy Jones, one of the founders of the *Daily Mail*, had serious doubts whether £500,000 would establish a good daily journal. This purely economic fact alone proves how shameless is the modern claim regarding the freedom of the press.

A daily paper that would cost £500,000 could not be maintained by depending alone upon the money received from its buyers. The most important newspapers to-day depend, financially, upon advertisement revenue. This, in reality, is a subsidy given by the propertied interests to one of their own organs. The greater the subsidy drawn from advertisement sources the more attractive and popular can such a newspaper become. This, in turn, increases its power to extract an ever greater subsidy in the shape of higher advertisement charges. The *Daily Mail*, for example, can collect £436,800 per annum from one page in advertisement revenue.

The importance of advertisement revenue for a newspaper only serves to show how hollow is the modern claim regarding the free press. For, everyone in the Labour Movement knows that the old militant Left-wing *Daily Herald*, of pre-war days, seldom got any of the really important advertisements that are so readily given to the ordinary capitalist newspapers. Even the modern *Daily Herald*, with all its undeniable claims to be a respectable and moderate journal, cannot overcome the advertisement boycott, and languishes, in consequence, from insufficient financial support.

The advertisers are the financial mainstay of the modern capitalist newspapers and they know it and call the tune accordingly. Thus it is an unwritten law in the editorial department that important advertisers must never be offended. Here we find, in another way, the power wielded by the propertied interests, and how much

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the freedom of the press is really worth when brought to a practical test.

The tremendous power wielded by capitalism through its press, shows how hollow are the claims of those who rant about the political equality of modern democracy. At the present moment, when the Labour Movement is not conscious of its latent power, the propertied interests have, in their control of the press, a political weapon much superior to anything possessed by the workers. The political pressure that the propertied interests can exert, through their domination of educational and other organs for moulding the ideas of great masses, is such that one brilliant student of the problem maintains :—

> If reactionists are allowed to hold these intellectual and moral fortresses, they can afford to snap their fingers at the working class movement in industry and politics.—J. A. Hobson in *Democracy After the War*.

This is the reply to those foolish persons in the Labour Movement who tell the workers that all they have to do is to vote at the ballot box. Right-wingers are distinguished by their virtue for begging the question. The problem is : How can the masses vote for their class when the greatest idea-creating machine in the world, the press, predisposes them to vote for capitalism ?

The capitalist press by its united action can stampede any uncritical mass at a given moment during any parliamentary election. Let anyone read the speeches of Right-wing leaders made on the Sunday that the press campaign was turned on the Zinoviev letter. By a simple trick the capitalist class reduced the leaders of the Parliamentary Labour Party to a condition of amazing and contradictory incoherence. And these were trained and experienced politicians who were supposed to know all the tricks in the game.

Not only can a skilfully prepared press campaign accomplish such things : it can be utilised, when the necessity arises, to provoke the most reactionary elements in society to violently attack the militant section of the working class. Long before Mussolini had any ideas regarding the capitalist policy of blood-letting as a legitimate method of political warfare, Lord Birkenhead had made statements on the subject that would make the most vicious Fascist appear like a pious Quaker. During the intense Labour agitation of

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1919 the *Glasgow Evening Times* made sinister references to the "*irresistible logic inherent in the bayonet and the bullet,*" and hoped that strikers would "*realise the futility of arguing with a machine gun.*" And in the *Aeroplane* during 1918, the editor reminded revolutionary workers that the Royal Air Force could be used most effectively. These illustrations show what political weapons the propertied interests wield, through their control of the press, in the struggle against Labour.

With the increasing chaos of capitalism and the growing need of the masses to fight to obtain the barest necessaries of life, the enemy press will be forced to become even more hysterical in the denunciations of the workers' demands. The very conditions of the class struggle, and the fact that capitalism has no policy to help the workers, will force the millionaire press to reveal itself as the enemy of the workers. This fact is already recognised by the propertied interests who know that their newspapers are rapidly losing their influence. One of the founders of the *Daily Mail*, the late Mr. Kennedy Jones, frankly admitted as much (*vide* his *Fleet Street and Downing Street*, pp. 324-5), and said this explained the amazing popularity of the pictorial press.

The Labour press must then concentrate its attention upon the immediate and *concrete* demands of the masses. While it is a simple thing to mislead people on purely *abstract* political principles—such as Conservatism, Liberalism or Parliamentary Socialism—it is almost impossible to wheedle workers over the *concrete* things they are struggling to obtain in the factory, mine, mill, railroad, or in the dole queue.

A workers' press cannot and should not make any pretence to compete with capitalist newspapers. The attractive features of these are costly and seldom deal with things that are of direct importance to the masses. The old pre-war *Daily Herald* when it was a fighting Left-wing sheet was a much better working-class paper than it is to-day. The old paper had its own peculiar features that marked it out as "the limit"; to-day it attempts to emulate the millionaire press and fails.

The relation of the immediate needs of the workers to the Labour press is being solved in a rather novel manner. One of the most important signs of the time is the recent development of the

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factory newspaper. The growth of this idea has made even the Tory Government sit up and take notice. It is true we are only at the beginning of this new movement and that some of the papers, judged from the angle of Fleet Street, are poor and crude. But the idea is splendid and appeals to the workers who make their own copy, set it up, and distribute it among themselves. These papers know every little detail that happens in and about the factory and emphasise points that seem to have no meaning to outsiders. During a strike, they supply a form of news which the most alert press correspondent cannot get. And, above all, these factory papers breed a distrust of the capitalist press among the workers who support their own little paper which they make with their own hands.

The need for these factory papers, even if only made by the stencil and copying process, will be apparent very shortly. As the Labour Movement is driven forward to big struggles the workers' press will be attacked and in all probability suppressed. But the struggle in Italy, Germany, and elsewhere has shown that it is almost impossible to suppress the small factory and workshop papers. While, therefore, it is our first duty to support the Labour press, each according to his taste—nothing but the papers issued and printed by the Labour Movement, from the *Herald* to the more militant organs—it is highly necessary to pay every attention to the encouragement of the factory paper.

The cunning ruling class of Britain are watching all the moves that the workers are making to build up a press. By methods of silence and the boycott, two things the *Sunday Worker* had to combat, they try to undermine and weaken our papers. But they have several moves which they can make. They can, as they are contemplating, subsidise newspapers and place these, nominally, in the hands of Right-wing Labour leaders whose policy is not to fight capitalism but to make ever-increasing attacks upon the militant Trade Union leaders, the Labour Party's Left-wing, and the Communists.

In preparing the Trade Unions for their historic task of taking over industry and holding it against all the attacks of the propertied class, we must show the printing trade workers that, by transforming the boss press from a weapon of capitalism to a weapon of revolution, they will perform a tremendous task.

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The World of Labour

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BULGARIA

The Social Democratic Attitude

THE atrocities perpetrated by the Tsankoff Government in its suppression of the opposition in Bulgaria after the bomb explosion in Sofia Cathedral on April 16, are a matter of common knowledge. Sufficient witness has been borne, for instance, by the Labour Delegation under Colonel Wedgwood, and even by the ordinary Press reports.

Thus, the special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* in Sofia, wrote:—

> Of the countless prisoners who have been sentenced to death, not only in Sofia, but also in the provincial towns of Bulgaria, not one, as far as can be ascertained, has had anything to do with the crime.—*Manchester Guardian*, May 28, 1925.
>
> It is the deliberate policy of the Tsankoff Government to exterminate the "illegal opposition." It would be tragic enough if this opposition were no more than a small clique, but as it is a great movement with a mass following the terror is awful beyond description and there is no limit to the number of its victims.—*Manchester Guardian*, June 2, 1925.

It is clear that we are here faced with a campaign of merciless repression comparable to the Gallifet terror after the Commune in 1871. It is strange, therefore, to find the following editorial comment in the *Labour Magazine* (May, 1925):—

> The Tsankoff Government is certainly not in a position to pose as the guardian of political righteousness and constitutional order. But nothing is to be gained, on the other hand, by pretending that the Communists are the victims of savage persecution and White Terror.

A report was submitted by the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party to the Labour and Socialist International. The tone of this document may be judged from the following phrases:—

> Bulgarian Social Democracy . . . called the Government's attention to its duties, begged it not to neglect the needs of the masses of the people, so that it might rid itself of the destructive force of a United Front of the Communists and the Agrarians . . . Various inquiries conducted by the competent authorities go to show that the attempt on the cathedral . . . constitutes but a dreadful act in the appalling tragedy whose authors are affected by the destructive wave of criminality emanating from Moscow . . .
>
> The moral responsibility for this abominable crime should be laid at the door of the Bolshevist doctrines and their adherents, who for years have

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> recommended, supported and approved of acts of terror with unscrupulous recklessness . . . The Social Democratic parliamentary fraction admonishes the Government not to lose its dignity and its presence of mind, and to take the measures necessary to prevent irresponsible elements rousing the passions of the masses and endangering the security guaranteed by law, and the individual liberty of the Bulgarians.

It was decided by the Executive meeting of the L.S.I. in Paris, on May 9-10, to convene a second conference of Balkan Socialist Parties,[1] and a Commission consisting of Messrs. Vandervelde, Tom Shaw, and Friedrich Adler was appointed to attend this conference. The conference met in Prague on June 12-14, and delegates from the Bulgarian, Greek and Yugo-Slavian Social Democratic Parties were present.

One of the Bulgarian delegates, M. Pastouhoff, had already publicly attacked the report, issued by Colonel Wedgwood and his colleagues. Thus, writing in the Bulgarian Socialist paper *Epoha* (May 12), he said:—

> This report . . . essentially differs from the explanations which I gave to the English guests at the meeting I had with them on Bulgarian affairs . . . I observe with great grief that they are extremely erroneous in their appreciations as well as in facts of common knowledge.

He continues by stating that:—

> The truth is that the banditism, murders, outrages, and generally the illegal Bolshevist manifestations, have not their main cause in the present Government's policy. Still less is their aim simply to overthrow the Tsankoff Government. . . . The Agrarian-Communist "United Front" is not on the defensive, but on the offensive. Not in self-defence and to answer force with force are the monstrous murders and outrages, unknown to the West European mind, planned. The conspiracy aims at destruction and anarchy. It is not a result of reaction, it nourishes reaction. Should the conspirators' nests and nuclei not be destroyed the Bulgarian danger is inevitable, civil war will be in full swing, democracy will perish, etc.

M. Pastouhoff even goes so far as to condone the death sentence passed on the three men accused of direct complicity in the cathedral explosion, and executed by public hanging—an atrocious judicial murder which horrified even the bourgeois Press in this country. Thus, in an interview in the *Epoha* (May 13), he stated that:—

> The sentence for the cathedral outrage, though passed by a military court, not only satisfies indignant public opinion, but is also in accord with the public conscience of equity. In its general terms such a sentence could have been equally passed by a purely civil court. I hope it will be understood abroad that the judicial authorities in Bulgaria are a solid guarantee for an impartial administration of justice.

He had previously remarked (*Epoha*, May 12) that:—

> The Sofia Cathedral outrage, a satanic plan, is a deed of Bolshevik madness, as has been admitted by one of the principal Communist organisers, Marko Friedmann.

Against this may be set this quotation:—

> The public execution of Marko Friedmann, Colonel Koeff, and the sacristan Zadgorsky is a particularly horrible deed. The sacristan alone was

[1] The first conference of Balkan Socialist Parties was reported in THE LABOUR MONTHLY, May, 1924, Vol. 6, No. 5, pp. 310-311.

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> proved to have been an accomplice in the outrage. . . . Koeff maintained his own innocence to the last, and his fate remains deeply tragic. Friedmann was an active Communist, and it is for this that he was hanged, for this and nothing else. He condemned the cathedral outrage, and the court-martial was not able to prove his complicity in it. He faced the trial and died with great courage, a martyr to the Communist cause.—*Manchester Guardian*, June 2, 1925.

The Commission of the L.S.I., which received and discussed reports from extraneous bodies such as the International Red Aid and Bulgarian agrarian groups, reported that:—

> The Commission is not in a position to deal in detail with the accusations made against the extremist parties and the Tsankoff Government. There is, however, no doubt at all that Bulgaria is now the victim of a twofold plague. On one side there are the acts of the violent Communist and Agrarian elements which are responsible for repeated murder and robbery, on the other side there is the fact that the Government of Tsankoff has established the White Terror. In the present conditions of affairs, in which different witnesses are very contradictory, it does not seem to be possible to fix individial responsibilities with certainty.
>
> We must content ourselves by stating the growth of the evil and the energetic will of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party to continue the combat against both the criminal parties of violence between which they are placed.

It further claimed that the Bulgarian Social Democrats had acted in the "spirit" of the declarations they made at the conference in 1924, for General and Local Elections, amnesty, liberty of Press and meetings, etc. Still, "there remains much to be done," and a programme amplifying the points of the 1924 declarations was drawn up. One point was "immediate cessation of executions *without trial*." The realisation of this programme depended on the restoration of "normal conditions" :—

> The Bulgarian Socialists believe that the power to realise this normal condition of affairs can only be found in the grouping of all the forces which are really democratic.

For this task the Commission bespeaks the support of other Socialist parties, and urges that attention should be paid to the Bulgarian problem :—

> It is not enough, however, merely to draw attention to misdeeds.

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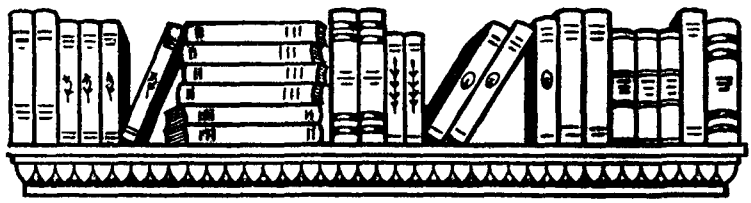

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